1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14

their bed, table, or gaming-table, and seldom stir out into the street or country. The Abiponian women, though debarred from the sports and equestrian contests of the men, have scarce time to rest or breathe, so much are they occupied day and night with the management of their domestic affairs. Hence that masculine vigour of the females in producing almost gigantic offspring, hence their strength and longevity.

The food also to which the Abipones are accustomed, in my judgment contributes not a little to prolong their lives. What Tacitus says of the ancient Germans is applicable to them: *Cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum, sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem.* They feed, as chance directs, upon beef, or the flesh of wild animals, mostly roasted, but seldom boiled. If the plain afford them no wild beasts to hunt, the water will supply their hunger with various kinds of fish besides otters, ducks, capibaris, &c. From the air also they receive birds that are by no means to be despised, and from the woods divers fruits, to appease the cravings of appetite. Should all these be wanting, roots concealed beneath the ground or the water are converted into food. Necessity alone will induce them to taste fishes, though excellent. Tigers' flesh, spite of its vile odour, is in such esteem amongst them that if

[A = Probably The JAGUAR IS MEANT HERE ---ANALYST]

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814

intervals, rattling a gourd full of hardish fruit-seeds to musical time, and, whirling round to the right with one foot, and to the left with another, without ever removing from one spot, or in the least varying her motions. This foolish crazy dance is interrupted every now and then by the horrid clangor of military trumpets, in which the spectators join, making a loud noise by striking their lips with their hands. Yet in the midst of all this you can never perceive the smallest deviation from strict decorum. The men are decently separated from the women; the boys from the girls. The female dancer, the priestess of these ridiculous ceremonies, as a mark of particular favour, rubs the thighs of some of the men with her gourds, and, in the name of their grandfather, promises them swiftness in pursuing enemies and wild beasts. At the same time the new male and female jugglers, who are thought equal to the office, are initiated with many ceremonies. Of this most mischievous description of men I am now going to treat more fully.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4

measles and small-pox, and the cruelty of the mothers towards their offspring, have combined to render their number so small. Now learn the cause of this inhumanity in the women. The mothers suckle their children for three years, during which time they have no conjugal intercourse with their husbands, who, tired of this long delay, often marry another wife. The women, therefore, kill their unborn babes through fear of repudiation, sometimes getting rid of them by violent arts, without waiting for their birth. Afraid of being widows in the life-time of their husbands, they blush not to become more savage than tigresses. Mothers spare their female offspring more frequently than the males, because the sons, when grown up, are obliged to purchase a wife, whereas daughters, at an age to be married, may be sold to the bridegroom at almost any price.

From all this you may easily guess that the Abiponian nations abound more in women than in men, both because female infants are seldomer killed by their mothers, because the women never fall in battle as is the case with the men, and because women are naturally longer lived than men. Many writers make the mistake of attributing the present scanty population of America to the cruelty of the Spaniards, when they should rather accuse that

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814
GUARANI SM4

A 431 555 622 crowds of soldiers in their service, because they were distinguished for dexterity and assiduity in depredation; the same men, when decrepit with extreme age, inadequate to undertaking excursions, and consequently poor, found none but relations continue in their hordes.

A 562 622 I must not omit to mention that the Abipones do not scorn to be governed by women of noble birth; for at the time that I resided in Paraguay, there was a high-born matron, to whom the Abipones gave the title of *Nelaʼeycatè*, and who numbered some families in her horde. Her origin, and the merits of her ancestors, procured her the veneration of others. The Catholic kings themselves, and their governours, acknowledge the rank of the caciques of every nation, and dignify them with the title of nobility, prefixing the word *Don* to their names, according to the Spanish fashion. It is also customary, throughout the whole of Spanish America, for the Indian caciques, after they have received baptism, and sworn allegiance to the Catholic king, to retain, and transmit to their posterity the dominion they possessed when savage, over the savages subject to their power: which is also observed amongst the Guaranies, with this provision, however, that the caciques themselves and the Indians under their authority, are obliged to

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14

147 ried industry. They despatch the household bu-
461 siness with which they are daily overwhelmed,
with alacrity and cheerfulness. It is their task
[462] to make clothes for their husbands and children;
to fetch eatable roots, and various fruits from
the woods; to gather the alfaroba, grind it, and
convert it into drink, and to get water and
wood for the daily consumption of the family.
[887] A ridiculous custom is in use amongst the Abi-
pones, of making the most aged woman in the
horde provide water for all domestic purposes.
[892] Though the river may be close at hand, the
water is always fetched in large pitchers on
horseback, and the same method is observed
in getting wood for fuel. You will never hear
one of these women complain of fatigue, however
many cares she may have to employ her mind.
A noble Spaniard had a captive Abiponian wo-
man in his service many years, and he assured
me that she was more useful and valuable to
him than three other servants, because she an-
ticipated his orders, and did her business sea-
sonably, accurately, and quickly. They justly
795 claim the epithet of the *devout female sex*. No
562 sooner do they hear the sound of the bell than
they all fly to hear the Christian religion ex-
plained, and listen to the preacher with attentive
ears. They highly approve the law of Christ,
because by it no husband is allowed to put

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4

away his wife, or to marry more than one. For this reason they are extremely anxious to have themselves and their husbands baptized, that they may be rendered more certain of the perpetuity of their marriage. This must be understood only of the younger women; for the old ones, who are obstinate adherers to their ancient superstitions, and priestesses of the savage rites, strongly oppose the Christian religion, foreseeing that if it were embraced by the whole Abiponian nation, they should lose their authority, and become the scorn and the derision of all. The young men amongst the Abipones, as well as the old women, greatly withstood the progress of religion; for, burning with the desire of military glory and of booty, they are excessively fond of cutting off the heads of the Spaniards, and plundering their waggons and estates, which they know to be forbidden by the law of God. Hence, they had rather adhere to the institutes of their ancestors, and traverse the country on swift horses, than listen to the words of a priest within the walls of a church. If it depended upon the old men and the young women alone, the whole nation would long since have embraced our religion.

Honourable mention has been frequently made by me of the chastity of the Abiponian women:

1:Dobrishoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514

562 [834] [462] it would be wrong to be silent upon their sobriety and temperance. It costs them much labour to prepare a sweet drink for their husbands of honey and the alfaroba: but they never even taste it themselves, being condemned to
578 pure water the whole of their lives. Would that they as carefully abstained from strife and contentions, as they do from all strong drink! Quarrels certainly do arise amongst them, and often end in blood, upon the most trivial occasions. They generally dispute about things of no consequence, about goats' wool, as Horace expresses it, or the shadow of an ass. One word uttered by a scolding woman is often the cause and means of exciting a mighty war.
195 578 The Abipones, in anger, use the following terms of reproach: *Acami Lanaîaik*, you are an Indian, that is, plebeian, ignoble; *Acami Lichiegaîaik*, you are poor, wretched; *Acami Ahamîaik*, you are dead. They sometimes dreadfully misapply these epithets. Who would not laugh to hear a horse, flying as quick as lightning, but which his rider wishes to incite to greater speed, called *Ahamîaik*, dead? When two women quarrel, one calls the other poor, or low-born, or perhaps lifeless. Presently a loud vociferation is heard, and from words they proceed to
578 579 blows. The whole company of women crowd

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4

to the market-place, not merely to look on, but to give assistance as they shall think proper. Some defend the one, some the other. The duel soon becomes a battle-royal. They fly at each other's breasts with their teeth like tigers, and often give them bloody bites. They lacerate one another's cheeks with their nails, rend their hair with their hands, and tear the hole of the flap of the ear, into which the roll of palm-leaves is inserted. Though a husband sees his wife, and a father his daughter, bathed in blood and covered with wounds, yet they look on at a distance, with motionless feet, silent tongues, and calm eyes; they applaud their Amazons, laugh, and wonder to see such anger in the souls of women, but would think it beneath a man to take any part in these female battles. If there appears no hope of the restoration of peace, they go to the Father: "See!" say they, "our women are out of their senses again to-day. Go, and frighten them away with a musket." Alarmed at the noise, and even at the sight of this, they hasten back to their tents, but even from thence, with a Stentorian voice, repeat the word which had been the occasion of the combat, and, neither liking to seem conquered, return again and again to the market-place, and renew the fight. It seems to have been a regu-

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814

562 lation of divine Providence, that the Abiponian
273 women should abstain from all strong liquors, for, if so furious when sober, what would they have been in a state of intoxication? The whole race of the Abipones would have been utterly destroyed.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4

ensue, about the prerogative of governing the family, and the favour of their husband. *Nejetenta*, as I said before, is a word appropriated to express a contest between two wives about their husband; any other sort of fight is called *Roćlakitápegeta*.

Let us now speak of the reason that occasions divorce. It is very common amongst them to reject wives to whom they have formerly united themselves, at their own pleasure, and with impunity, so that divines have very properly doubted the reality of the marriage of savages, as it seems to want the perpetuity of the nuptial tie. If their wives displease them, it is sufficient; they are ordered to decamp. No farther cause or objection is sought for; the will of the husband, who dislikes his wife, stands in the place of reason. Should the husband cast his eyes upon any handsomer woman, the old wife must remove merely on this account, her fading form or advanced age being her only accusers, though she may be universally commended for conjugal fidelity, regularity of conduct, diligent obedience, and the children she has born. None of the men of most authority have either the right or the inclination to defend the divorced, or control the divorcer. But, appointing a drinking-party, wherein the memory of

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814

768 551 making use of a paraphrase. But if the name of the defunct be derived from an appellative noun, the word is abolished by proclamation, and a new one substituted. It is the prerogative of the old women to invent these new [888 562] names, which are quickly divulgated amongst the widely-scattered hordes of the Abipones, and are so firmly imprinted on their minds, that no one individual is ever heard to utter a proscribed word.

553 768 All the friends and relations of the deceased change the names they formerly bore. In the colony of the Rosary, the wife of the chief Cacique dying of the small-pox, her husband changed his name of Revachigi to that of Oahari. His mother and brother and captive, as well as all the brothers of the deceased, had new names given them with various ceremonies. The old mother of the Cacique was extremely fond of a lank, scraggy dog, unworthy of the very air it breathed. When this change of names was made, I asked the old woman what name would be given her dog, to show them that we held their absurd rites in ridicule, though unable at that time to prevent them. [166 622] On the death of a Cacique, all the men under his authority shave their long hair as a sign of grief. Widows also have their hair shaven, and [302] wear a kind of cloak made of the caraquatà,

1;Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14

They who have received wounds in the battle deliver themselves to be sucked to a crowd of juggler physicians, a multitude of spectators admiring and extolling their constancy and fortitude. Great numbers flock to behold the spoils and trophies taken from the enemy. The women, giving way to an excess of gladness, seem mad with joy; they would make no end of singing, leaping, and applauding, were they not obliged to turn their attention towards making preparations for the public drinking-party of their husbands; who, at the same time that they wash the horrible colours from their faces, endeavour to clear from their minds, with wine, their past anxiety respecting the conflict. In the assembly of drinkers, where the victory is celebrated amidst confused clamours, and songs accompanied with the sound of gourds and drums; when all are heated with liberal draughts of mead, each begins to relate his own brave actions, and to laugh at the errors, cowardice, and flight of others; which not being endured by any of the Abipones, the warriors contend furiously amongst themselves, first with fists, and then, growing more enraged, with spears and arrows. Did not the women interpose to effect a reconciliation, and employ themselves in snatching away their weapons, and leading their husbands home, it is beyond a DEAD doubt that more would be killed after the battle than in the battle.

727 [755]
[703 626 578 521]
[562 593]

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14

527 an hour, that it is time to desist, by repeated
533 precussion of their lips, and by pronouncing
727 the little words *Kla leyà*, it is enough. With this admonition, they immediately comply, and conclude the magnificent commemoration of their mighty deeds with *Gramackka akanì:* Such then we are. Another pair then succeeds to the former, and in this manner the singing is
[273] protracted till the morning. Then, indeed, the scene is changed, the drinking commences, and their dry and weary throats are refreshed with that American nectar made either of honey, or the alfaroba. The women, and the unmarried
[562 men are excluded from these drinking-parties,
581] though the latter are allowed to drink mead in
262] private, as the women to drink pure honey, and eat the raw alfaroba.

273 To seek honey in the woods for making this
[462 drink, is the business of the men, but the whole
222] labour of preparing it falls upon the women, who have to knock down the alfarobas from the
[482 trees, to carry them home on horseback, to
492] pound them in mortars, to pour water on them, and to dress the hides which serve to hold the liquor. The method of their construction is
[281 this: the feet are cut off, the hide is made
415] square; its four sides are then raised to the height of two spans, so that it receives at the bottom any liquor that you may pour in, and holds it without spilling a drop.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4

holds it without spilling a drop. Honey, or the alfaroba steeped in water, obtains the desirable degree of acidity quicker, or slower, according to the state of the atmosphere, and ferments, in a certain way, without the addition of any thing else. The Abipones approach those vessels every now and then, and ascertain, by the smell, whether that honeyed beverage has attained its proper state. *Layam ycham;* It will soon ferment, they cry as they go away. Till at length some one comes, who, judging by his nose, declares that it has gained the necessary acidity. This being given out, they all flock to the appointed place. Those leathern vessels, full of foaming mead, are each brought by the hands of six or eight girls, who lay down their burden, and return home without speaking a word to the drinkers. Before the first vessel is quite exhausted, another is brought, to that is added a third, then a fourth, and so on. I did not in the least wonder to see the women so alert and industrious in performing these useful offices, because the more diligent they are, the higher character they obtain amongst their countrymen, and the greater favour do they gain from their husbands. It must be confessed, however, that the Abipones, when they sup and dine in private, drink nothing but water. I *have* known Abipones

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4

157
273 despised for his cowardice. An old man in the town of St. Ferdinand, inglorious alike in birth
157 and actions, on being called by his drinking as-
273 sociates, *Lanaîaik*, plebeian, vainly endeavoured
578 with arms, and absurd clamours, to avenge the
593 insult; for his wife, a sturdy old woman, always watched over her infuriated husband, that he might not fall by the fists or weapons of his companions. On this occasion she caught hold of him by the legs, or girdle, dragged him through the street, and when got home, vainly exhorted him to sleep and silence; for he, ever recurring to the flouts of his comrades, could take no rest, constantly ejaculating with a hoarse voice, *Tà yeegamì! Aym Lanaîaik? Tà yeegamì! Là rihè lahè!* "What! I a plebeian? I ignoble? I demand vengeance." Enraged by these reflections, he endeavours again and again to raise himself on his feet, and snatch up a spear, when his angry wife as often knocks him down upon the floor. This sport continued for many hours, to the incredible annoyance of all that dwelt in the neighbourhood. Few could
273 repress indignation, none laughter. Almost all
● 562 the women have the same task when they labour to disarm their husbands, and take them out of the hands of their drunken comrades. The whole Abiponian nation would come to destruction, if the women and youths attended

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814

these drinking-parties, as well as the married men.

You will sooner eradicate from the minds of the Americans any vice belonging to them, than this wicked and pernicious intemperance in drinking. You will sooner persuade them to live content with one wife, to abstain from slaughter and rapine, to scorn their ancient superstitions, or to employ themselves in agriculture and building houses, notwithstanding their aversion to labour. To abolish the custom of drinking-parties is indeed a most arduous work, a labour of many years, and a business to perfect which no eloquence or industry of those whose care and wish it was to convert the savage nations to Christianity, and conform them to the divine laws, was ever equal. At length, however, we have had the satisfaction of beholding this wicked custom of drinking yield to our unwearied toils, and almost all the savages submit to the law of God.